

ER 6-9314/a

APR 19 1955

Honorable Harold E. Stassen  
Director  
Foreign Operations Administration  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for your letter of April 15 enclosing the preliminary draft of the speech you are scheduled to present to the American Society of Newspaper Editors on April 21st.

The only suggestion that I think it might be appropriate for me to make is a change in statistics cited on page 1 in the last sentence of paragraph 5. I would recommend changing the total combined strength of the armies of Russia, Eastern Europe and Mainland China from ten million to seven million. The latter figure is, I believe, a much closer approximation.

I am returning your draft herewith.

Faithfully yours,

Allen W. Dulles  
Director

Enclosure

(Draft of Speech)

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P.S. It is a good speech. What about mentioning on page 3 the Washington agreement of 1922. Possibly they are not too popular today?? A.W.D.

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. DULLES

Bob Amory and Stan Grogan both feel that this one suggested change is the only one you should make.



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FOREIGN OPERATIONS ADMINISTRATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE  
DIRECTOR

April 15, 1955

The Honorable  
Allen W. Dulles  
Director, Central Intelligence Agency

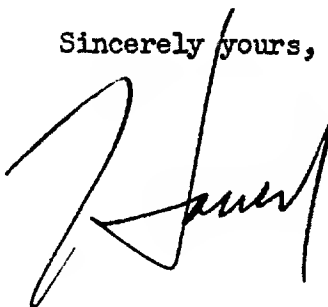
Dear Allen:

Enclosed find a preliminary draft for my speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors scheduled for April 21 at luncheon.

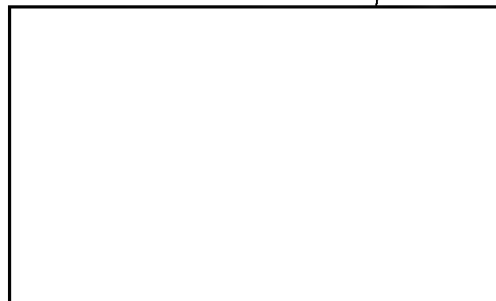
The draft is being taken up for clearance among Departments in the usual manner through the staff. But I want you also to know that I would welcome and appreciate any suggestions whatsoever regarding it.

I have endeavored to fit in the background for my new assignment and at the same time to add somewhat to the understanding of fundamental factors involved in accordance with our established policies and objectives.

Sincerely yours,



Enclosure



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SECOND PRELIMINARY DRAFT  
4-15-55

CONFIDENTIAL

ADDRESS OF HAROLD E. STASSEN TO THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF  
NEWSPAPER EDITORS AT LUNCHEON ON APRIL 21, 1955, WASHINGTON,  
D. C.

Mr. Chairman, Members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors:

I have a new task. And I need your help.

For a number of years the most dangerous arms race in the history of mankind has been under way. It intensified after the outbreak of the Korean aggression. It is continuing today.

Weapons have been designed and built with such astounding force that a single squadron of modern bombers in one flight can pack a destructive power greater than all of the bombs carried by all of the airplanes in all of their flights on both sides in World War II.

The United States is not alone in knowledge of these weapons.

A concentrated center of political and military authority has been established in Moscow which appears to have under its control the largest non-wartime armies ever commanded from one point. The armies of Russia, Eastern Europe, and the Mainland China area total approximately ~~ten~~ million men. 7

If these armies began to march in aggression, only by stopping them from the air with modern weapons could they be prevented from taking over the European-Asiatic land mass where more than two-thirds of the peoples of the world reside. In this sense modern weapons are a power for peace.

The capacity of major nations to devastate others, and their vulnerability to destruction by others, are unparalleled in the record of this earth.

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There is every indication that this capacity and vulnerability for all great nations will both accentuate in future years if the arms race continues.

This is the black background against which I begin my endeavor to develop the basic policy of the United States on the question of disarmament for recommendation to the President.

I do not minimize the difficulty. But the stakes for this nation, and for the Russian Nation, and for all mankind, are so high that we must succeed. I have an abiding faith that this nation, under God, before it is too late, can find an answer that is better than this grim arms race, and can obtain world agreement to it.

It is abundantly clear that the answer must never be our unilateral disarmament or one-sided weakness. The consequences of any unilateral impotency on our part would be particularly unattractive at a time when the opposing ideology carries with it the obliteration of freedom, the denial of God, and the ruthless rule of the state over the individual human personality.

It is worthy of reflection that Hiroshima and Nagasaki with freedom and sovereignty has made greater progress in rebuilding than Warsaw without freedom and without true sovereignty. The words of Henry Clay, "Give me liberty or give me death," have a relevance in the atomic age.

It is a fierce fact that the world has never yet found the way to establish a durable peace. Disarmament proposals, limitation of arms agreements, and reduction of force treaties are scattered through the pages of time ever overshadowed by the outbreak of war and more war.

But these centuries of failure do not foredoom our efforts now. Never before have the unique facts of today prevailed. Never before has mankind

contemplated the results of war in the terms that now must be faced. These unprecedented circumstances themselves establish not only the most impelling requirement to succeed, but also the best opportunity to do so.

Nor is the record of the past quite as bleak as a generalization of failure would imply.

For example, the Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817 limiting the naval force on the Great Lakes to three vessels of equal tonnage and armament for each nation was a conspicuous success. Signed by Richard Rush, the Acting Secretary of State, and by Sir Charles Bagot, British Minister to Washington, in the wake of the fighting of the War of 1812, this disarmament agreement was a forerunner of the longest unarmed peaceful border in the world, the 3,800-mile boundary between the United States and Canada.

Reported accounts indicate that as early as 600 B.C. the Chinese states of the Yangtze Valley entered into a disarmament league and established a century of peace.

Although the overall worldwide characterization of failure is not denied, many other limited successes are recorded.

Furthermore, there are some exceptional assets which will be of great value in this attempt to solve the thus far insoluble worldwide problem. May I call to your special attention six of these favorable circumstances.

Foremost I would list the fact that our nation by the decision of its people is now presided over by a man with an amazing capacity for leadership, with unparalleled experience in war, and with a profound dedication to peace-- President Dwight Eisenhower.

I have found even in remote areas of the globe a high and rising appreciation of the quality of our President and a keen interest in his views

and his attitudes.

I have seen at close hand in many difficult hours his poise and perception and his deep devotion to fundamental objectives.

A second significant plus as we work upon the problem is the fact that this nation, with its exceptionally high caliber armed forces, its highly productive resilient industrial economy, and its brilliant assembly of scientists, has demonstrated to the entire world that we cannot be outdistanced in an arms race. We will negotiate from strength, real strength, now and in potential for the indefinite future. We are completely aware that no one could truly win a modern war, but we are also confident that we would not now or ever lose a modern war.

Third, I note the development, in both of our major political parties, of a high degree of understanding and skill in the conduct of foreign policy, currently dramatically emphasized in the personalities of the Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, and the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Walter George.

This advanced ability and close cooperation played an important part in ending the Korean War with its precarious potential for spreading to world-wide proportions. In less than a score of years, a possible weakness in our political party system has been forged into a basic strength.

Fourth, I emphasize that cooperation among the free countries in economic, military and technical programs has attained a high level of accomplishment. Western Europe this year will reach a record high of gross production equivalent to \$200 billion per year, the Marshall Plan has been a solid success, and the free world as a whole is better fed and better clothed than ever before. Many serious problems remain, and more needs to be done, especially in the arc of

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free Asia, but the momentum of progress and the substantial accomplishment sets the stage for an extraordinary effort to devote future productive resources increasingly to the service of the needs rather than the fears of mankind, the lives rather than the deaths of the young generation.

A fifth favorable factor is reflected from the many indications that the many millions of peoples within the Soviet Union are as desirous of peace as are the free peoples. Their form of government makes the views of the people of much less significance, but the impact of a powerful public opinion is nevertheless important.

I have a vivid recollection of my visit to the Soviet Union eight years ago this month. I recall a conversation with a machine tool operator working in the heavy steel plant at Sverdlovsk deep in the heart of vast Russia in the Ural Mountains area. He was a tall, fur-hatted Russian, and I noticed him as we were moving down through the huge tool assembly building of the plant. As I approached, I observed that my first glance identification of the huge machine tool at which he was working was correct, and that it was built by the Niles Tool Company of Hamilton, Ohio. He was engaged in adjusting the precision cutting edges of his machine tool. In our discussions through the interpreter which followed, and which included a visit to his home and meeting his wife and three daughters, ages nineteen, thirteen, and eleven, they told me of their peasant family background, of their problems, of their work, and then of their hopes for more clothes, more room, more happiness, and "peace." He added, "We can have nothing without peace."

I am convinced that millions of Soviet citizens continue to hold this view.



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Sixth, I would list the existence of the United Nations, with its established forums and its operating committees providing an important avenue for the consideration of proposals. It if had not been for the United Nations, I doubt that President Eisenhower's Atoms for Peace Plan could have had the rapid implementation that followed its presentation. Today, there are scholars at the Argonne Laboratory in Chicago from twenty-one nations studying the peaceful use of nuclear energy. In August, the International Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy meets in Geneva. This peaceful spearhead may prove to be of a crucial nature. It was launched at the United Nations Assembly in December, 1953.

But let us turn from a discussion of assets to a consideration of liabilities.

It is my view that the large number of confirmed cynics constitutes one of the most serious handicaps. This nation and the free world as a whole never can solve a difficult problem if its people conclude that it is hopeless. Nothing smothers constructive action in a free nation as completely as a heavy blanket of cynicism. It is only through the maintenance of an abiding determination, of a never failing hope, of a deep faith, that results can be obtained in the most difficult circumstances. It is very easy to be cynical about disarmament. It is hard to blame anyone for being prone to give up the search before they begin. But if cynicism became the rule of the day in this problem, that in itself would foredoom failure. I cannot today spell out the steps by which success can be attained, but I can say that success must be attained. I can promise a concentrated and consecrated persistent program to penetrate the problem and move towards solution. I can also point out that in many other key junctures in history, the cynics said that answers could not be found, but the people persisted with faith and answers were found. At the very birth of

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this nation, scoffers said the United States of America could not be thus established. Listen to what Josiah Tucker wrote in 1787: "As to the future grandeur of America, and its being a rising empire under one head, whether republican or monarchial, it is one of the idlest and most visionary notions that ever was conceived even by writers of romance. The mutual antipathies and clashing interests of the Americans, their differences of governments, habitudes, and manners, indicate that they will have no centre of union and no common interest. They never can be united into one compact empire under any species of government whatever; a disunited people till the end of time, suspicious and distrustful of each other, they will be divided and subdivided into little commonwealths or principalities, according to natural boundaries, by great bays of the sea, and by vast rivers, lakes, and ridges of mountains."

In Britain's darkest hour the cynics said that nation could not survive, but the British never gave up hope and it became instead their finest hour under the leadership of that spirit which could not be extinguished, Sir Winston Churchill.

Thus my plea to you today is that each of you in your own way see to it that the powerful institution which is in your charge shall not promote but shall combat the well springs of cynicism which are so easily fed in this crucial concern.

The covert communists in the free world are a serious second handicap because they are a continuing threat toward misleading both the people of the free world and the rulers of the Kremlin at the same time. Success in working out this policy on disarmament and moving toward peace with surefootedness will require an accurate understanding of facts by both the people of the free

world and the rulers of the Kremlin. Currently, the covert communists around the world are engaged in an effort to deceive the people into believing that stripping the United States of its modern weapons capacity would promote peace. But in fact, it would be the trap door into the most horrible war and the most destructive century of struggle and slavery.

These covert communists are currently organizing for a so-called World Peace Conference in Helsinki in May. They are actively engaged in enlisting people of prominence who are not communists to make statements that will fit with their propaganda objective. They are making glowing reports to the Kremlin of their success. Herein lies the double-edged danger of their work. Not only are they a handicap to the correct understanding of facts in the free world, but they also tend to mislead the rulers in the Kremlin from getting a correct appraisal of what will happen in the free world on this question of disarmament in the years ahead if no agreement is reached.

I, personally, am convinced that if the Soviet Union had not been misinformed and had not misappraised the reaction of the United States and the free world, the Korean War never would have been started, both sides would be better off, and the world would not today have the present degree of intensity in the arms race.

In this respect you also can be of great assistance. When individuals issue statements that directly tie in with the covert communist propaganda objective, you can do a service to our country by having your reporters ask specifically who the individual making the statement has worked with in the preparation of the statement, what conferences he or she has held about it and

who was present, when did the idea arise of making the speech or issuing the story, and then publish these full background facts along with the statement. This exposure of complete facts would help materially in drying up the pipelines between the covert communists and the non-communists who are not alert but do have some position of scientific or other leadership that gives news value to their statements.

The search for good answers to this atomic dilemma will take time. But it must succeed. Will you help in your own way to maximize the assets and minimize the liabilities? I also respectfully ask that you avoid attempts to prejudge or to publish presumed leaks. These are special circumstances of so grave a nature that I would hope a special concept would arise from the free press of the world of their responsibility in handling the subject.

In working with me on this assignment you are entitled to know and I do expressly state to you that I have one ambition and only one. It is to successfully discharge this responsibility which President Eisenhower has placed upon me, and, with humility, to justify in some degree the informal title which the free press has placed upon the assignment--"Secretary of Peace."

*ER 6-7906*

FOREIGN OPERATIONS ADMINISTRATION  
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

March 17, 1955

TO: The Honorable  
Allen W. Dulles  
Director, Central Intelligence Agency

For your information.

H.E.S.

*#1725*